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ABSTRACT

The Gary, Indiana, public schools, under the supervision of William A. Wirt (1907-1938), were the most written about, analyzed, and praised of any "progressive" school system in the 1920's. Although the system was criticized in a survey made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1918, Gary, Indiana, schools continued in their progressive mold during the 1920's. Wirt always tried new schemes to broaden the schools' influence in and control over the community. The basic structure of the Gary system included a design to mold the individual's character as well as provide training in cognitive and manual skills. Innovations in the system included elaborate school facilities; extensive playground space; diverse curricular and extracurricular activities; vocational and recreational equipment; Saturday, summer, and night activities; vocational education; "individualized" instruction; ability grouping; and letter grading. Yet the concept of educational opportunities for all was not a reality even in the progressive Gary system. The majority of black students were in separate, physically inferior schools and were channeled into vocational careers. Even with the many innovations, the economically disadvantaged or culturally different usually came out at the bottom. (Author/DE)

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"The Gary Schools and Progressive Education in the 1920's"

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We do not know much about public schooling during the 1920's; or, for that matter, much about the decade generally, except that it was marked by business domination, serious poverty, economic dislocations, and numerous reform activities, as well as anti-Victorian social ethics and a general reckless spirit. What was the relationship, however, between these years, what went before, and what came after? More specifically, what happened to educational progressives and progressivism after the Great War and before the Crash? The answers so far have been vague and misleading. In her influential study of the Progressive Education Association, Patricia Graham has argued that "before World War I, 'progressive schools were often ones that embodied in education the political and social views of prominent figures in American life, men and women identified with the progressive movement in American politics.... In 1920 [however] a 'progressive' school was an experimental one, a school that attempted to include in its program some of the findings of the new psychology and to conform to the spirit of the emerging social sciences. These methods were tightly correlated with a sharp focusing of attention upon the individual child in the schoolroom." Differing somewhat from Lawrence Cremin, who referred to progressivism in public as well as private schools, Ms. Graham focused on the child-centered, cult of the individual curriculum of the upper-middle and upper class private schools. [1]

While private "progressive" schools certainly increased during the decade, common sense tells us that public school progressivism could not have been abandoned so quickly. Recent scholarship has emphasized the sluggishness of decision making in public school systems because of bureaucracy and politics. Thus, those innovations that were adopted before the war survived into the 1920's because of inertia, if nothing else. But there also remained a positive commitment among schoolmen to "progressive" education; indeed, progressivism gained in popularity, remaining where it had taken root, and expanding into virgin school systems

throughout the country. Just what progressive education was is hard to say, although for simplicity sake we can note that it was a combination, in varying degrees, of the following: paedagogical and economic efficiency, growth and centralization of administration, an expanded curriculum, introduction of measurement and testing, greater public use of school facilities, a child-centered approach, and heightened concern about using the schools to properly socialize children. [2]

The Gary, Indiana, public schools, under the supervision of William A. Wirt (1907-1938), were certainly the most written about, analyzed, and praised of any "progressive" school system during the second decade of the century. Moreover, they have been used by historians to prove their own theories concerning progressive education. Contemporary interest in the Gary Plan substantially dropped off after World War I, however, leading historians to assume that the system disintegrated following the critical report of the General Education Board in 1918, although Cremin noted that "the report did take the wind out of the raging discussion, but the system continued to spread. By 1929 over 200 cities in forty-one states had adopted it in part or in whole, and few other communities remained totally unaffected by its innovations." [3] About what happened to the schools in Gary itself, however, he says nothing. An analysis of the Gary schools in the 1920's will tell us much about progressive education, as well as about public schooling generally.

The most significant characteristic of public schooling during the decade was growth, influencing all else. Nationally, public school enrollment jumped from 21,500,000 in 1920 to 25,500,000 in 1930, after which it leveled off for another two decades; this was less than a twenty-five percent increase, with the major growth coming in the cities. In Gary, school enrollment shot up from 9,000 in 1920 to about 21,000 in 1930, or more than doubling; there was no growth during the 1930's. High school expansion was the most spectacular, jumping from 800 to over 4,000; nationally, the number doubled, from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000. The increase in the teaching staff was proportionate, rising from around 300 at the beginning of

the decade to over 600 at the end, with additional principals and supervisors. New buildings were needed to accommodate the hordes at the gates; large, permanent, brick structures in the older neighborhoods, portable, frame cubicles in the outlying districts. In 1922 there were two large unit schools, built over a decade before, and about ten elementary schools scattered about the city. By 1931 there were six large unit schools and another fifteen elementary schools of frame or brick. "During the nine-year period from August 1, 1922, to July 31, 1931, the investment of the School City increased from $1,849,360.11 to $6,602,416,61, an increase of $4,753,056.50. This was a percentage increase of 257%." [4] Expansion--in enrollment, staff, buildings, expenditures--marked the Gary schools in the 1920's, expansion that was welcomed and worshiped as a sign that society was healthy and prosperous. But growth also entailed problems.

While Superintendent Wirt had constantly to deal with the mundane matters of space and money, he devoted much time to other issues. The Rockefeller Foundation's Abraham Flexner, who had appointed himself head of the Gary survey, wrote later in his autobiography that "the general effect of the report was disastrous to the exploitation of the Gary system. Education is far too complicated a process to be advertised on the basis of inadequate supervision and without definite accounting--mental, moral, and financial. With the publication of the report the school world was relieved, and the Gary system ceased to be an object of excitement. It disappeared from discussion as suddenly as it had arisen." [5] Reviewers, generally, praised the report. Wirt, however, felt only disgust. While he could soberly report to one correspondent in early 1920 that "the General Education Report had not made any difference any [i.e. one] way or the other in my estimation," three months later we was warning another that the report "does not represent the conditions in the Gary schools in any respect at the time the Survey was made." [6] Wirt never launched a public attack on the report, but in a lengthy, unpublished manuscript entitled "Plain Facts About the Rockefeller Foundation Survey of the

Gary Schools," written in 1918, he expressed his stifled rage:

> Eight or ten years ago it was the common practice with many professional educators to label the Gary School Plan as a joke. Judging from the survey report it is now the practice among some professional educators to admit the value of the Gary School Plan but to label the people responsible for its development as jokes.
>
> As Superintendent of the public schools at Gary, Indiana, I am not very much concerned with the effect of this report upon my own reputation. It has been blasted so many times that a blast more or less does not make very much difference. But as to the effect upon the many teachers and principals in the Gary Public Schools who have labored zealously in this experiment I am concerned. Therefore I wish to point out briefly the many errors, misrepresentations and false conclusions in the report. [7]

The report, coming hard on the heels of the defeat of the Gary Plan in New York City in the fall of 1917, coupled with the outbreak of war, considerably dampened national enthusiasm for becoming Garyized. Wirt, accepting the obvious, turned his back on the national scene. On January 31, 1919, the Gary Tribune noted that "William A. Wirt...will speak Sunday afternoon at the First Presbyterian church, his subject to be 'Education.'" Then, incredibly, the article went on, although Mr. Wirt has spoken in every other leading city in the United States this is the first time during his residence in Gary that he has ever honored the city with a talk on education, his life work, and the institution which under his wonderful direction has come to be one of the most talked-about things in the history of the country.... During the past year he has been able to spend more time in Gary, than at any other one time, and his presence here has helped much in all activities." [8] While this was not absolutely true--he had given a few speeches some years before--it is indicative of both Wirt's new sensitivity to the local situation and the city's need to have him stay home.

Wirt feared that the survey might have cooled local support; he was also anxious to secure financial backing for expansion. Thus, while he sought to rally support from all sections of the city, he concentrated upon one in particular--businessmen. "Although this age was not the first to proclaim the interdependence of business and education, it cherished the idea with loving care and proclaimed

it as a perfect marriage," Edward Krug has written. Wirt was intuitively pro-business, having been nurtured on and long cherished the capitalistic ethic of free enterprise, which he combined with a dread of labor radicalism. Indeed, the superintendent himself was a banker and entrepreneur, and he had always associated with the business and professional classes. His subordinates had the same inclinations. Thus, in late January 1919, "Gary schoolmasters" organized a banquet for the city's businessmen. "This affair is being planned for the purpose of creating a better acquaintance and friendship between the business men and the instructors in the city schools," the local paper announced. Over the next several weeks Wirt spoke at the Presbyterian church and Temple Israel, two bastions of the business community. "These talks bring the parents and schools into closer harmony," the Gary Tribune noted, "and establish a bond between them, which is of invaluable good to the community." [9]

The school system's public relations campaign was far reaching. The school board announced that "there has been some criticism to the effect that Gary schools and their heads want to run everything, want to monopolize everything and say what shall and what shall not be done. This is a mistake. It is quite contrary to what we have set out to do. The school system wants to be one of the co-operating agencies working for the betterment of the community and it will do everything possible in its power to help carry out any plans which will be confided to it." Simultaneously, the city council announced it would investigate the schools, and the Civic Service club staged a public meeting, with speakers from the schools, "to tell the things that Gary people want to know about the schools and have been unable to find out." [10] Both the educators and their local supporters wished to bridge the gap that existed between the public and the schools, and that had caused such disastrous results in New York City. The highpoints of this campaign came in the early years of the decade. First, in late 1921 the Gary Commercial Club, closely linked with the U.S. Steel Corporation and representing

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corporate leadership in the city, began an investigation of the schools, seemingly designed more as a publicity stunt than a critical appraisal. The daily paper urged that the study be a serious one, however, "not be made willy-nilly to back up the present discipline and status of the work there but to ascertain facts. Our committee should test out the schools to see whether the pupils are acquiring character and mental power. It should ascertain whether the teachers are up to date and thorough. The Gary schools were once criticized in a survey made by the Rockefeller foundation and there were some strictures made upon the discipline. These matters, we think, have been largely corrected but the committee should keep a sharp eye out for such delinquencies. The examination should be thorough and stand the test of criticism. Gary schools must be abreast of the age." So, the General Education Board survey was taken seriously, and now it was time to see whether the schools were doing their proper job--"to fit pupils for the right kind of life." The survey was completed after six months of testimony and observation. The schools were given a clean bill of health. While there were some criticisms, they appeared to be "brought about by general unfamiliarity of the people with the working of the present system.... We believe [the report concluded] the school authorities here are endeavoring to conduct the schools along the line of meeting the requirements of an industrial city like Gary." [11] The Commercial Club thus affirmed its support of Wirt and his system, a vital matter in this industrial community.

Shortly after the report, in May 1922, a massive school celebration was held in the heart of the business district. "Over 8,000 pupils, directed by 251 teachers, gave 637 programs during educational week." In shop windows lining the street students "performed their tasks before hundreds of people without the slightest loss of poise. In some windows one found a group of students doing mechanical drawing, in another a history lesson, in another demonstrating as living pictures the stories in the classics read in the English classes. Exhibits of the class

work were to be found, too, and in all, the week was an effort upon the part of the school officials and teachers to bring the work, study, play system and its accomplishments before the eyes of the Gary people who have thus far had no opportunity of viewing it first hand." An official report was one thing, but actually seeing the children engaged in a variety of stimulating and obviously interesting activities was quite another. Two years later, Principal Charles Coons of Froebel school praised the current education week as a great success: "the city was captured; the strongholds of commercialism were overthrown and the whole city capitulated to this onslaught of the Educational forces of the city." Who could now question that the Gary schools were not, in fact, the finest in the country, a blessing for any city, but particularly a raw, industrial one? Whether the schools had won over the commercial interests, or were, on the contrary, their tools, is a moot point. Rather, there was a successful merger of capitalism and education in the Steel City. In June 1922 Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel, was welcomed by "six thousand Gary school children of all colors, races, sects and grades....At Emerson [school] 2,500 boys and girls waved flags, recited the creed and cheered the founder of Gary. At Froebel school more than 3,000 children of all nationalities were grouped upon the big lawn when the distinguished visitor arrived. A beautiful flag was raised and 3,000 children's voices recited the creed in unison. At Virginia [Street school] park 500 colored school children cheered the visitor and sang the songs so dear to their race and color. Judge Gary was visibly impressed." [12]

The close identification of patriotism, schooling, and support of the country's economic and social system was strongly encouraged, to be sure, by Wirt and the city's educators. But their campaign was underpinned by the city's basic prosperity during the decade. While it is easy to look back and pity the city's large number of poor, white and non-white, for being manipulated by the system, at the time they saw, and perhaps desired, no alternative. What was good for U.S. Steel was good for themselves. When in May 1923 "10,000 school children of Gary and members of

the civic clubs of Gary marched in the 'Loyalty Day' parade as a feature of boy's week," they made a visible bond that they believed existed. "Fifty different nationalities and races were included in the parade," the daily paper remarked, "but all were Americans.... Many of the marchers were youngsters not so far removed from the radical teachings of their ancestors, but they have been in America long enough to realize and appreciate the teachings of American schools and the meaning of American liberty. The [predominately foreign] Froebel school contingent particularly was alive with pep, banners and enthusiasm." As part of the festivities, school boys were taken on tours of local factories, for "the heads of these industrial institutions realize the great need and advantage of assisting the boys when they are young in order that when grown, they may be better able to be fitted to be either employees or employers. The purpose of this day is also to demonstrate to the boys the necessity for being not only well educated but also for being trained for the work he expects to follow throughout his life." There was no comparable week set aside for girls, of course. But boys, because of their economic value, were singled out for praise and attention. The schools' role in the city's economic life was nowhere better illustrated than in a Post Tribune editorial in 1925: "Probably the most important single industry in Gary is that of educating the children of this community. The manager of this great industry is William E. [sic] Wirt." To Robert and Helen Lynd, the schools of Middletown-Muncie were just like factories, " a thoroughly regimented world." In Gary, on the other hand, the schools operated differently, with considerably more fluidity and heterogeneity, but the end product was the same--integrating education with the corporate order. This could be accomplished in a variety of ways, however. [13]

While Gary's citizens were being placated, Wirt had to deal with a short-lived protest from the teachers. The post-war depression and inflation hit hard in Gary, postponing construction of new schools until 1922 and enhancing teacher dissatisfaction over salaries. Leading the fight for higher salaries was the

union. Having first organized in 1914, and been active in inaugurating the American Federation of Teachers in 1916, the Gary teachers' union was in healthy shape for a contest with Wirt and the school board over salaries. In January 1920 the union demanded a $20 a month increase for every teacher, increased to $40 two weeks later. Although strongly supported by the local press, the teachers met opposition from a school board grumbling about too little money. This stalling swelled the union's membership. "Teachers all over the country are realizing that, to keep up with the trend of the times, they must be organized, and Gary teachers are rapidly falling into line. From present indications the local federation will be 10[illegible] per cent strong," announced one member. The teachers finally settled for a $25 raise. Soon thereafter the union lost most of its members, and by 1923 it was defunct. Meanwhile, Wirt introduced a new rating system which, although initially accepted, became an open, festering wound that led sixteen years later to the union's renaissance and triumph over the superintendent. The new system established four ratings, A,B,C, and D, each attached to a salary scale and determined by the principals and supervisors. The catch was that only 25% of the teachers could have the top rating, 40% the B, 30% the C, with the remaining 5% getting the D and seeming dismissal. Since usually the same teachers get the A rating every year, and therefore the highest salaries, there was little chance for the remaining 75% to receive much of a raise. The new system, in effect, created a hierarchy among the teachers. Principal Coons immediately sensed the problem, warning Wirt in 1922 that "you are headed for a lot of trouble when you arbitrarily limit the number of teachers who can get into the upper group to 25%." [14] But the superintendent, oblivious to criticism, ignored the issue.

With the new rating system in effect, and the teachers' union disbanded, Wirt believed now the schools could concentrate on dealing with children. To get the teachers in the right frame of mind they were approached by the city's business leaders. The Commercial Club's survey brought business leaders and teachers

together in a common effort to defend the system. Similarly, at a general teache meeting in late 1923 the crowd was treated to two speeches, one by the president the local Rotary club, and the other by a representative of International Harvest company. The former "spoke on the ideals of service while Mr. Keller [the latter gave a talk on investments." Cooperation, not conflict, was the goal of Wirt and his business colleagues, a goal grudgingly accepted by the teachers once prosperi returned. But discontent, sparked by the rating system, smoldered below the surf throughout the decade. [15]

The Gary schools had become world famous for their innovative programs and curricula. While the rest of the country was catching up in the 1920's, Wirt was designing even newer schemes to broaden the schools' influence in and control over the community. "The following are four fundamental requirements for success in life," he wrote in 1927: "good health, intelligence, reliability and industry. If the children come to the school without these desirable characteristics, the school must then provide activities that will develop them." The basic structure of the Gary system, designed to mold the individual's character as well as provid training in cognitive and manual skills, had been formed before 1920: the elabora school plants, extensive park and playground space, divers curricular and extra-curricular activities, exceptional vocational and recreational equipment, a "healthy" moral atmosphere, Saturday, summer, and night activities, and the platoo plan allowing maximum use of all the facilities. The schools did not change thei direction during the decade; they only attempted to do more of what they had alwa done, particularly in reaching out to previously untapped segments of the city's population. Thus, night school enrollment increased significantly, reaching 15,0 in 1928. Gary "appreciates that because of the rapid progress and changing situations, education has become necessary lifelong adjustment," adult education director Albert Fertsch announced to the National Education Association in 1928. "It consequently makes provision for the cultivation and stimulation of intellect

interests, not for a few years only, but as a permanent, necessary and inspirational aspect of citizenship." [16]

One temporary difficulty was in differentiating between children and adults in the continuation or part-time schools. The problem was that while compulsory attendance was initially until age 14, in 1916 the state passed a law ordering all children between the ages of 14 and 16, who were working, to attend school part-time during the day. In 1922 the law was modified, increasing the upper age from 16 to 17, stipulating that they had to have passed the eigth grade, and they had to obtain a work permit from their school. While previously there had been a rather clear distinction between day school and night school, now a third category was added, a separate day school for children who were working. In 1919, when the school was established in a former restaurant on the main street, it was estimated that there were perhaps 900 who would spend two hours a week taking academic courses (trade mathematics, English, citizenship, or trade science), and another three hours enrolled in shop courses in the high schools. The next year all the classes were offered at the high schools, although separated from the regular curriculum and under the supervision of the director of adult education. [17]

If children who worked were furnished separate day facilities, it naturally followed that adults needed the same opportunity. Men who worked at night had to be provided for. Moreover, women also desired day courses in commercial work (shorthand, typing, and bookkeeping), millinery, dressmaking, and home decoration, as well as in business English and English for the foreign speaking. "Gary grown-ups who are seeking further educational opportunities are apparently neglecting a chance which is offered them to obtain free schooling in a number of useful subjects," editorialized the local paper upon the school's opening in 1920 in the restaurant formerly used by the part-time students. "This institution should be more appreciated by the citizens, as it is conducted solely for the benefit of the people of Gary who have not had opportunities in the past to become proficient in these subjects."

The man or woman trained in business methods is in such great demand at present that it is well worth the time put in to get such instructor," added the Central Labor Union News. By 1923 there were 1,000 adults attending commercial classes at the continuation school. [18]

As vocational courses were begun for adults and part-time students during the day, they were also expanded for the regular high school students. Before 1920 the high schools had a rather low enrollment, composed primarily those (boys) desiring to go to college. Along with the rest of the country, however, enrollment shot up during the decade. These new, supposedly non-academically oriented, students had to be provided for. "It seems to be a fact that is not generally known that students in the Gary schools may be fitted to go [to] work as well as to go to college," remarked the Post-Tribune in 1921. "Such a selection of studies as will accomplish this result has been offered in the Gary schools for the past few years. Quite as many students have gone out of the Gary schools trained to make their living at some useful employment as have gone to college for still better equipment....It may be that the details of our school work is [are] not well enough advertised, but it is also true that students and parents are both to blame for not knowing what is going on in their own schools. In addition to the commercial work that has always been offered there was started during the summer term a two-year commercial course for students who cannot spend four years in high school.... A four year high school course is recommended to all who can possibly take that much time, and by wisely selecting the studies every graduate should be as well fitted to enter useful and remunerative employment as he is to enter college." [19] Thus the vocational programs were relatively new and not yet popular; they soon would be.

While Wirt and his kind throughout the country justified the introduction of vocational programs because of the influx of those not interested in college, historians have recently questioned whether these programs were, in fact, of

greatest benefit to the students. Perhaps the vocational thrust was one more aspect of the larger trend towards efficiency, for certain students were pre-selected and channeled into work-oriented programs in order to fit them into society's technological needs and job slots. By integrating the vocational courses into the comprehensive high school complete separation from the academic program was prevented, but it was clear that the two were becoming more and more distinct.[20] Wirt, like John Dewey, always argued from a philosophical position that it was vital to connect physical with mental labor. And in the earlier years, with his emphasis upon shop work in the lower grades, such an integration was possible without becoming overly vocational in nature. With the rise of the high school, however, vocationalism came into its own, with its ominous connotations of second-class citizenship and restricted career opportunities. These "sinister" aspects did not bother Wirt, certainly, who was most concerned about expanding the schools and fitting children into the city's commercial and economic needs. But they did not bother the masses either, who welcomed the commercial classes as golden opportunities to benefit from the educational system.

"The idea of the educators is that Gary does not come up to the standard in the child's knowledge of academic work," explained Edythe Watson in the Vocational Education Magazine in 1925. "But the child that completes his high school at Gary has a skilled life trade to support himself, and that is more than most of the schools can say of their graduates of high classed academic schools." And as the Gary paper argued in 1923: "In the Gary schools, the same in all other schools, there are pupils who cannot be served to best advantage by pursuing the ordinary course of study. They may not care for books, they may lack ambition to continue in school, they may show skill with the hand, their parents may want them to go to work, and so on. This considerable number of boys and girls, the greatest majority of whom should be saved to edueation, must be provided with special facilities of suitable range and adaption to suit their tastes and the wishes of their parents. For several years the schools did what they could, within

the scope of their limited resources, to care for these boys and girls, but in more recent months definite courses in trade training have been established....The trade work is growing in favor as its purpose and its manner of administration are understood." Adequate counseling of both students and their parents heightened the program's efficiency. Of course, vocational skills could be obtained from industries, admitted Principal Coons, where on the job training and apprenticeship programs were still important. But this would be purely technical in nature, whereas "in the schools he has the privilege of getting his training under a teacher who is interested in giving the boy a general knowledge of his subject.... There is great need of a general knowledge of trade, to aid in counteracting the tendency mechanical operations connected with modern industrial work have of deadening the mental alertness and appreciation of its workers." [21] As the Gary system became more and more committed to vocationalism, it nevertheless clung tenaciously to the liberal rhetoric that emphasized the relationship between the hands and the head.

"Gary, with its comprehensive plan for vocational education, was far in the lead in the number of pupils receiving training, over any other city in the state, according to the annual report of the division of vocational education in the state department of public instruction," the Post-Tribune announced at mid-decade. The active support and cooperation of the city's business leaders enhanced the program, for they directly profitted from it. "Co-operation of tradesmen and mechanics, business men and leaders of finance in Gary has always been accorded the [vocational] departments in the Gary school system where an obvious ideal of service has always been the motivating spirit, school heads aver. The need for men who will work with their hands rather than for more to rush into the overflowing tide of youth headed for the 'white collar' jobs was recognized here 20 years ago," noted the daily paper. That vocational programs were vital to the city's economic and social welfare was obvious and admitted by all. That they benefitted children

was equally obvious, at the time; as the paper also noted, "in theory and practice the Gary school system both academically and vocationally has been made to fit the needs of the student rather than making the student fit the needs of an inflexible [educational] system." [22] It was, then, not a question of the child versus society, but of delicately balancing the needs and interests of both. This, at least, was what they thought they were doing, and perhaps they were. As Carleton Washburn, Winnetka, Illinois' famed superintendent, summarized the issue: "This education will have to be both social and individual. It must develop each child to his own fullest capacity that he may make his own particular contribution to society. It must at the same time train him to see that he can not reach his own full stature unless the society of which he is a part is also developed to its full capacity. He must learn that he is only a part of the whole and that his own good is indissolubly bound up with the good of his fellows." [22]

Meeting the child's needs became, by mid-decade, "individualized" instruction, a movement currently sweeping the country. Just what this meant is hard to say, for divers programs, attitudes, and procedures were grouped under this ruberic. Wirt had always spoken of the need to recognize individual differences, but individualization took on new importance after 1924. "The general policy this year," Assistant Superintendent John Rossman announced in 1925, "will call for increased attention to the individual needs of the student. Individualized instruction became a prominent feature in the Gary schools last year, and will be stressed further this year. Endeavors also will be made to create a favorable attitude on the part of the students toward their work, and to a mastery of the subject matter." Such instruction differed from that in many of the private schools where, as Robert Elias has written, "the individual fulfilled himself in the degree to which no one impinged on his will." In the Steel City this thrust, always implicit when personalizing instruction, was subsumed within the dominant movement toward promoting, as the Lynds characterized the mood in Muncie, "the community values of group solidarity and patriotism." (Even in Muncie, however, many believed "that the schools

should foster not only free inquiry but individual diversity, and that they best serve their communities when they discover, and equip the individual to use, his emotional and intellectual resources to the fullest extent, in however diverse ways.") Freedom versus conformity--the two are not totally incompatable, and indeed have often gone together in educational thinking and program development. Historians have recently emphasized the latter as the main thrust of public educational reform at the time. But it is too easy to dismiss the educators' own views in support of individualized instruction as only misleading and designed to cover-up their racism and class bias. [23]

Superintendent Wirt was an elitist who believed, more or less, in the "survival of the fittest." It would not be too strong to say that he worshipped the "free enterprise system." This does not mean, however, that he did not desire to assist all children in attempting to get the schooling and training necessary to get ahead in life according to their "potential." Children of the rich had different potentials than children of the poor, of course, but there was enough overlap to make such a dichotomy less than a certainty. And the schools, by providing a stimulating environment, could serve to help overcome these class differences. "The great problem of parents and educators is to surround the child with an environment wherein he will be stimulated to put forth the required effort to do the necessary real, hard work involved in educating himself," he wrote. "No such environment can be adequate unless it creates a real, immediate need for the doing of the work required." [24] All the schools in Gary were not equipped to do this, but the largest were, in Wirt's thinking, and the plan was to provide eventually all the children with superior facilities.

In addition to the diversified curriculum, a crucial ingredient of the "new" individualized program was ability grouping or tracking, introduced in 1924. Since some students "are naturally brighter than others and most of the teacher's time is taken up with instructing and explaining to the 'slower' children at the expense of the brighter ones," teachers were advised "to divide their classes

into several small groups, each of which contains pupils of about the same intelligence. While one group is reciting the other group may be studying instead of wasting time." Students would be classified according to observations and test results. As Assistant Superintendent Rossman informed the teachers at the beginning of the fall term in 1924: "The first few weeks should be given over to an intense campaign of learning your pupils and their individual abilities," in order to maximize "instruction on the basis of individual needs with pupils grouped in small groups within a large group." For Washburne, ability grouping was a necessary "forerunner of the widespread adoption of full individual instruction," a tentative procedure that broke the "lock-step methods" common in public schools. But in a city such as Gary, with serious overcrowding and limited resources, it was the final stage in individualizing instruction. [25] There has been a continual debate over whether ability grouping is equalitarian or elitist; whether all benefit, or the few get ahead at the expense of the many; whether or not it is designed to stifle mobility. All children, certainly, do not profit equally from being tracked, although it is important to recognize that Wirt, Rossman, Washburne and the other schoolmen sincerely believed that they were acting in the best interest of every student. Unfortunately, they were wrong.

The following year the grading system was changed. Report cards were now to be issued once a month in all grades; formerly children in grades one to three received them only once every ten weeks. More importantly, marks were now to be in letter rather than in numerical form (percentages). "Students will be urged to complete mastery at whatever rate of speed they individually can make, rather than to learn hap-hazardly in order to keep pace with other children," Rossman argued. "The change is made in accord with the general educational tendency toward more individualized instruction. It will place students more upon a separate basis than under the old percentage method." This change was in line with the prevailing progressive notion "that overemphasis on marks, either at home or at school, has serious effects on many children....Children unable to keep

the pace demanded by parent or teacher sometime even fall into dishonest habits in the attempt to avoid the shame of disappointing that demand," cautioned educational writer Eugene Smith in his 1924 study Education Moves Ahead. "Those who have studied this subject most carefully are, I think, unanimous in believing that when pupils are marked at all, they should be graded in groups, each of which covers a fairly wide range, rather than by percentages." By moving toward general marking, Smith and Rossman hoped to free children to develop more naturally, and be rewarded accordingly. "It is more important to know whether a boy or girl is showing initiative, or attaining self-control, or learning to live and work in harmony with others, than it is to know whether his spelling or writing was marked 76% or 82%," Smith added. Rossman listed three possible goals of the new method: "1. No failures. 2. No idling on the part of any pupil. 3. Each pupil moving forward in a way that brings to him the greatest return with a reasonable amount of effort put forth." By failing few if any students, perhaps no more than ten percent, not only would the children move ahead faster, but substantial financial savings could be achieved; after all, "each pupil that is failed adds that much to the tax burden and the housing needs of the school district." "All pupils should be given an opportunity to do as much as they can with the feeling that when they have done that they will be rewarded accordingly," Rossman believed, or at least so argued. "The stage must be so set that they will feel that this is true and the attitude must be so developed that there will be a desire to do according to their abilities." By downplaying both competition and mechanical skills development, the new marking system was seen as a substantial move forward in the struggle to improve instruction, "to teach boys and girls as individuals rather than in mass and recognize that every pupil is different and has different ideas and a different capacity." [26] Of course, similar to ability grouping, letter grades could also be used as a control and sorting mechanism; this was not, however, why Rossman and his colleagues defended the new system.

Additional features were added in 1926, such as special rooms for new students in order "to become adjusted to the Gary system and so that he [they] may be ranked properly in the schools here." Moreover, "to develop habits of independent study, to promote better use of school time and to guide pupils into more extensive and intensive fields, a study program is being inaugurated this year in all grades beginning with the 7th. The program will expect at least 30 minutes of each school day in outside study"--that is, homework. The increased stress on individualized instruction and learning came at the height of overcrowding in the schools, when all facilities were at maximum capacity. Emphasis was thus put on hustling students through the system, not only by reducing failures, but also through encouraging promotion by subject instead of class standing. Extensive use of Saturday and summer school also helped, allowing students to catch up on work missed, or move ahead by taking more advanced classes. "That the Gary plan 'gets the pupil somewhere,' as Superintendent Wirt put it, is tellingly indicated by the fact that in a Gary public school the teachers have the children ready for the university at the age of sixteen and a half years. Elsewhere the average is 18 years," newsman James Bennett reported in the Chicago Tribune in late 1929. Indeed, Rossman announced in 1928 that "helping boys and girls to succeed has ever been the guiding beacon to teachers and executives in Gary and since 1923 the average of failures has been reduced from 22 in each 100 students to 16--a savings of dollars and cents to the school city of $50,000 a semester, or $100,000 a year, but a savings incomputable to the future success and happiness of boys and girls." A sure sign of success was the jump in high school graduates, from 121 in 1922, to 348 in 1927, to an impressive 500 in 1929. The spector of massive retardation, that is performing below grade level, which haunted schoolmen throughout the country, was seemingly absent in Gary, where extraordinary efforts were made to speed up rather than slow down academic and behavioral development. [27]

Despite the stress on individualized learning and instruction, group socialization was never abandoned as a desirable goal. Indeed, it gained in popularity. "An ideal for the Gary public school system for the 1928-29 semesters was epitomized in two words--"team work' yesterday by William A. Wirt, superintendent, and John G. Rossman.... Creative accomplishment for each pupil, straight thinking by teachers and pupil alike were among the objectives stressed by both Mr. Wirt and Mr. Rossman. 'Our teachers, in the vast majority, have assimilated this tenet of the system and have the attitude that they are forming a team with their pupils, with the teacher as captain, to strive for everything that reacts to the welfare of the student body and which harmonizes with the objectives of the system,'" Wirt continued. That individualism and cooperation were not mutually exclusive, were in fact two sides of the same coin, each designed to promote personal and social progress, dominated educational thought at the time. The irony of the situation did not bother Wirt. [28]

The paradox of encouraging individualism in a society marked by corporate growth and increasing interrelatedness, which in turn stimulated emphasis on "team work," was paralleled by the desire to add post-secondary schooling to a system which was bent on speeding students through the lower grades. That is, individual success had to be balanced against the need to have continuous socialization for community harmony and solidarity. Thus, as high school enrollment mounted, and graduates increased, plans were made for starting a college in the area. In 1922 Wirt proposed building a local facility "for pupils in the last two years of the high school course and for the first two years of university education." The previous year Indiana University had begun extension courses in the city, offering credit to high school graduates, but this was not enough. More was needed, particularly since many could not afford to move to the main campus in Bloomington. The Woman's club, in supporting the venture, also argued that students "in tender years, might still live at home under the guidance of parents, and attend a preparatory school."

Two years later Wirt envisioned "a standarized college in Gary offering a multitude of courses taught by the highest class of instructors, library and laboratory facilities far in advance of the ordinary college, and even college football and other sports that, in the eyes of the younger generation, are the distinguishing features of a school." This would now be a four year institution, making available "a college education to all of those who desire it and who are able to master it." Moreover, students could "work and learn at the same time" because of the local availability of jobs. [29] Funding was unavailable, however, and extension courses remained the only option until the early 1930's when, at the height of the depression, Gary College was established.

The Gary schools' diverse goals reflected Wirt's desire to satisfy the community's various, and somewhat changing, needs. In 1921, while the depression lingered, night school activities were expanded "to offer help to the minds and bodies of the unemployed and their families." Classes on cooking, millinery, and consumerism were added to the curriculum. In the earliest years the superintendent had also urged maximum cooperation between the schools and other civic organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A., boy scouts, and settlement houses. By mid-decade, however, he had reversed his position. He now attacked these organizations, accusing them of unnecessarily competing with the three traditional pillars of society--home, church, and school--in influencing children. Until "better schools, better teachers, better parents, more aggressive church leadership tackles the problem of youth's training, America cannot be builded upon a safe foundation," he announced. "All other agencies but scratch the surface, and really get nowhere." In early 1928 the Gary Woman's club arranged a joint meeting with the Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, and Optimists to have Wirt present his ideas, which now centered on the need to spend money only on schooling. He defended modern youth, noting that "the boys and girls of this country aren't nearly as bad as they are painted.... False propoaganda it is...that is creating this 'alarming' tobaggan of youthful morals, creating the spector of a nation facing disaster as a result of the breakdown of the character of

its boys and girls. He again flayed organization [such as the Boy Scouts] seeking to reform the boy and girl, saying there are 60 such associations in the country doing more harm than good. It is to obtain funds necessary for their operation that they are forced to sound the 'alarm' cries." His fear and distrust of this competition led him to advocate incorporating the Boy Scouts into the public schools, ostensibly so that trained men could be paid to oversee the boys. At a time when the schools were more successful than ever in controlling children, and were bursting at the seams, Wirt became panicky. He worried that amateurs, not experts, were influencing children; he worried that precious resources were being drained away from the schools; he feared that the Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A. catered only to the elite, ignoring the rest. Clearly, "only the school could secure the facilities and the time of the children necessary for the development of the wants that give value to work and the tastes that give value to leisure." [30] Wirt had been personally active in both the Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A. in previous years. Now, he saw them only as rivals. After twenty years as superintendent, his thinking had narrowed to the point where only the public schools could save society; professionalism now totally dominated his thinking, as it did for educators throughout the country.

Wirt believed the schools served the needs of all Gary's citizens, rich and poor, young and old, black and white. While this was perhaps somewhat true for the first two categories, historians have recently come to question whether racial inequalities did not, in fact, make a sham of the whole concept of educational opportunities for all. Racism and segregation were dominant throughout the country, north and south, with the attendant liabilities and handicaps for those discriminated against. The majority of black students in Gary were in separate schools, with black teachers and administrators; the rest were segregated in predominately white schools. Moreover, the black schools were physically inferior to the few expensive unit schools. But, on the other hand, they were no worse than

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most of the elementary schools in the city, which housed a majority of the white students. In 1927 Wirt attempted to enroll eighteen black students in the Emerson high school, increasing the total number there to twenty-four. In protest, hundreds of white students went out on strike, and by the end of the week the superintendent and city officials reluctantly agreed to transfer them to all black schools. A few of the parents, backed by black leaders and the N.A.A.C.P., brought suit against the city to prevent the transfer of their children. Declaring it illegal, the parents argued "that the Virginia school to which they were removed does not have the equipment for advanced pupils. It is without a gymnasium, swimming tank or modern advantages of the Emerson school in equipment and is dark and unsanitary besides not offering the scholastic merits of Emerson school." The parents lost. Eventually, a magnificant all black school was constructed, the Roosevelt school. [31]

The black community was outraged by the blatant racism of the students and Wirt's giving in to them. It was also, for the most part, against accepting the principle of segregation. But the more important issue, which soon became obvious, was the securing of equal facilities, for practical as well as constitutional reasons. Blacks were not, in fact, hostile to segregation; nor were they critical of Wirt and the school system. Simultaneous with the above quote condemning the Virginia Street school's high school facilities, was an article in The (Gary) Sun, a black paper, praising the school as the pride of the black community: "Gary is gradually convincing the world that it excels in its educational system as well as in steel production. Virginia school, despite its inferior facilities, is the very essence and symbol of this remarkable scholastic organization.... Regarded as one of the most efficient in the city, a staff of twenty-two teachers, and two clerks are employed in the school. 50 per cent of the teachers are college graduates and the remaining 11 are possessors of Normal school diplomas." The Roosevelt school annex, another all black school, was similarly lauded. What

was important was that these schools were controlled by the black community, thei accomplishments were matters of great pride, and they furnished employment for black teachers who held high local status. David Tyack has recently observed that black teachers could find employment only in black schools, which was desired by their constituents even while segregation was vigorously fought and protested in the courts. "Lacking direct political power...they turned to the courts to defend the tenuous equity that integration promised. But again and again blacks expressed in autobiographies and poems, in truancy and protest, their sense of rejection in schools dominated by a white power structure over which they had little influence." The ambiguity of the situation was striking. "Gary's school system enjoys a world wide reputation for scholarly efficiency and the progressive use of modern educational methods," editorialized The (Gary) Sun in January 1928. "Our contention is that the colored school teacher is an indispensible part of this splendid system; that he or she must carry the spirit of the great work the schools of Gary are doing in the fields of education beyond the confines of the classroom and have more than a passing interest in the home and parent of the child they are building into men and women of the future." Even the Gary American, the city's second black paper, which was in the forefront of the attack on segregated schools, editorialized in September 1928 that "too much importance can hardly be attached to the part played both individually and collectively by Gary's colored school teachers. Those who condemn separate schools for Negro children and who seek to criticize Negro school teachers as a whole should ponder for a moment and they would see, if a sustained line of thought is held, that the community would be a dead and prosaic place were it not for the altruistic interests of our teachers here in our social, religious and educational welfare." Integration or segregation--the choice seemed real, but was abstract. Only the followers of Marcus Garvey rejected the former on theoretical grounds, and their stand led to heated debates

in the black community, but the latter was preferred in practice by all. When in 1930 some protested segregating the soon to be opened Roosevelt school, they were attacked by others who argued "that with the establishment of a school for both white and colored students it would tend to destroy the 'race consciousness' of the Negro children." The following year, however, the Gary American proudly proclaimed: "The dedication of Gary's new million dollar school the Roosevelt high school, is an epoch in the history of Negroes in this state. In every detail the new building is the equal of any school building or educational center supported by public taxation in this section of the nation. This newspaper has never approved the separate public school for Negroes....But if separate schools have to be established, they should be the equal of white schools in matters of equipment and efficiency of its teaching staff. In this regard the new Roosevelt high school comes up to the requirements." [32]

The Gary schools were segregated. This was inevitable, considering the society within which they operated. But black children were not necessarily treated any differently than white children. The establishment of a "colored trade school" early in the decade was defended because "a large number of the colored children did not have adequate educational advantages before coming to Gary and are consequently retarded. To serve the educational needs of these children in the upper grades, a colored trade school was organized. Vocational studies were made of occupations in which the colored people of Gary are earning their livelihood. The teachable content of the occupations was classified and the course of study largely based upon the information obtained from these vocational studies." This was good progressive education. The trade school was, indeed, seen as a further sign that "the Gary system continues to advance the new order of secondary education by adjusting instruction along the lines which function in the lives of the boys and girls after they leave school." [33]

Unquestionably, the Gary schools did not, and were not designed to, change society in the 1920's. Public schools have always functioned in the interests of the dominant social, economic, and political system. More specifically, historians have recently emphasized that the innovations of these years--testing, differentiated curriculum, ability grouping, vocational guidance--while instituted under the guise of individualizing education, in fact further insured manipulation from above, and hindered mobility. "Since the 1920's, evidence has accumulated that children of the poor and the working class, and those from immigrant groups, were disadvantaged by grouping, differentiation, and intelligence testing," David Cohen and Marvin Lazerson have written. "Whether educational progress was measured by curricular placement, school completion, or the tests themselves, those who were economically disadvantaged or culturally different usually came out at the bottom of the heap." That the new methods were not completely negative, however, has most recently been argued by David Tyack: "As rhetoric escalated on both sides in the 1920's, scholars developed a more sophisticated understanding of 'intelligence,' but schools went on making discriminations between pupils through testing....Some lower-class children did well on the IQ tests and were encouraged to continue their schooling into college; the tests may well have prompted social mobility for such high performers. There were, indeed, complex problems of classifying students for a differentiated school structure, and quite probably subjective judgments by teachers would have been at least as questionable as the supposedly objective intelligence tests." [34]

Surely the old democratic whitewash of public schooling is dead and buried, destroyed by the conscientious critique of liberals and radicals who have chosen to highlight the victims rather than the victors. Future historians should go a step further, however, becoming concerned not about good or evil, but rather about the tensions and paradoxes that have dominated the missions and accomplishments of the country's public schools, particularly those labeled "progressive." For

example, Gary's citizens were manipulated by the schools, not out of fear but belief that they were profiting from them. And indeed many were. The schoolmen preached individualism, while practicing mass socialization; they honestly believed that each child could reach his potential, a process that coincided with serving the community's social and economic needs. That ~~they~~ there might be ambiguities and contradictions between individualism and cooperation, between self aggrandizement and social order, did not concern Wirt and his colleagues, who, in any case, did not believe that individualism meant equality, or teamwork community. Only with hindsight can we see the foolishness of their idealism, a foolishness still present among today's educators. There were further ambiguities that are worth recognizing, such as Wirt's commitment to having the schools serve society's needs, which conflicted with his crusade to demolish competing organizations that were both popular and functional. He seemed to want the schools to control society, and not vice versa. And we also have to remember the black community's rejection of segreation, but desire for separation, which led to much confusion and conflict. The Gary schools thus did not stand for or practice freedom, on the one hand, or control, on the other, but instead a strange and complicated mixture of the two; the situation was ambiguous, an understanding that should guide our future thinking on the subject. [35]

FOOTNOTES

1. Patricia A. Graham, Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe (New York, 1967), 12; see Cremin, The Transformation of the School (paperback ed., New York, 1964), chapt. 8.

2. For an attempt to define progressive education see Ronald Cohen and Raymond Mohl, "The Paradox of Progressive Education: William A. Wirt, Alice P. Barrows, and the Gary Schools, 1906-1938," unpub. MS; Cohen, "Urban Schooling in Twentieth-Century America: A Frame of Reference," Urban Education, VIII (January 1974), 423-438.

3. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, 160.

4. The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present (Stamford, Conn., 1965), 207. Gary statistics have been compiled from various manuscript and newspaper sources. The city's population grew from 55,000 in 1920 to over 100,000 in 1930. The school figures for Gary do not include night school enrollment, which was substantial--over 12,000 in 1924. The last quote is from [A.H. Bell], "Development of the Gary School Plant and Matters Pertinent," (Division of Accounts and Records, School City of Gary, Indiana), MS in Guy Wulfing Papers, Calumet Regional Archives, Indiana University Northwest, Gary, Indiana.

5. Flexner, I Remember (New York, 1940), 255. The report was published in eight volumes; see the summary volume, Flexner and Frank Bachman, The Gary Schools: A General Account (New York, 1918).

6. Wirt to Bessie Stern, Feb. 2, 1920, and Wirt to L.B. Moffett, April 21, 1920, William A. Wirt Manuscripts, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

7. Wirt, "Plain Facts...," 1-2, MS in Wulfing Papers, Calumet Regional Archives.

8. Gary Tribune, January 31, 1919, 2.

9. Krug, The Shaping of the American High School, vol. II: 1920-1941 (Madison, Wisconsin), 1972), 19; Gary Tribune, January 21, 1919, 8, Feb. 17, 1919, 10.

10. Gary Tribune, January 24, 1919, 9, March 5, 1919, 2. There is no information on the outcome of the city council's investigation, if it was ever held.

11. Gary Post and Tribune, Sept. 24, 1921, 2, Oct. 1, 1921, 6, April 5, 1922, 12.

12. Gary Post and Tribune, May 20, 1922, 1, June 15, 1922, 1; Coons to John G. Rossman, June 6, 1924, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.

13. Gary Post Tribune, May 2, 1923, 1, 2, Sept. 10, 1925, 16; Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (paperback, New York, 1956), 188.

14. Gary Tribune, March 11, 1920, 1; Coons to Wirt, January 10, 1922, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library. For a brief discussion of this issue see Flora Philley, Teacher Help Yourself (Gary, 1948), 5-12.

15. Gary Post-Tribune, November 3, 1923, 12; interview with Ann Maloney, Gary, Indiana, October 22, 1974.

16. William Wirt, "Creating a Child World," Platoon School, I (January 1927), 5; Fertsch, "Adult Education From the Viewpoint of a City," N.E.A., Proceedings of the Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, July 1-6, 1928, vol. 66 (Washington, D.C. [1928]), 269-270.

17. Gary Post-Tribune, January 10, 1922, 2; Gary Tribune, July 25, 1919, 20, Sept. 13, 1919, 4.

18. Gary Tribune, March 2, 1920, 5, March 3, 1920, 6; Central Labor Union News, March 28, 1920, 1; Gary Post-Tribune, January 2, 1923, 3.

19. Gary Post-Tribune, Sept. 6, 1921, 9.

20. Krug, Shaping of the American High School, II, 112-114; Arthur G. Wirth, Education in the Technological Society (Scranton, Pa., 1972).

21. Watson, "The Gary School System," Vocational Education Magazine, III (January 1925), 4; Gary Post-Tribune, January 2, 1923, 3, March 23, 1923, 27.

22. Gary Post-Tribune, November 22, 1924; 1; Sept. 9, 1927, 13; Washburne and Myron M. Stearns, Better Schools: A Survey of Progressive Education in American Public Schools (New York, 1928), 17. For a brief discussion of the popularity of vocational work in Muncie, see Lynd and Lynd, Middletown, 194-196.

23. Gary Post Tribune, Sept. 8, 1925, 1; Elias, "Entangling Alliances with None": An Essay on the Individual in the American Twenties (New York, 1973), 54, and chapt. 2 in general; Lynd and Lynd, Middletown in Transition (paperback, New York, n.d. [originally pub. 1937]), 233-234; Washburne and Stearns, Better Schools, 259-299. On the latter point, see, for example, Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (Boston, 1972), and Clarence Karier et al., Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century (Chicago, 1973).

24. Wirt, "Creating a Child World," Platoon School, I (January 1927), 7.

25. Gary Post-Tribune, Sept. 2, 1924, 7; [Rossman], "Teacher's Bulletin #1, September 1, 1924" 1-2, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library; Washburne and Stearns, Better Schools, 261, and see 259-268 in general; Krug, Shaping of the American High School, II, 113-117; David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 198-216.

26. Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 8, 1925, 3, March 12, 1926, 19; Smith, Education Moves Ahead: A Survey of Progressive Methods (Boston, 1924), 92-93, 97; [Rossman], "Teacher's Bulletin No. 12, January 5, 1926," 40, 45, 46, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library. See also Krug, Shaping of the American High School, II, 142-145.

27. Gary Post-Tribune, Sept. 4, 1926, 8, Sept. 4, 1928, 2; James O'Donnel Bennett, "Will To Learn Chief Goal of Gary Teachers," Chicago Tribune, Dec. 9, 1929, 12.

28. Gary Post-Tribune, Sept. 4, 1928, 2. On cooperation and conformity in the schools see Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State.

29. Gary Post and Tribune, March 11, 1922, 2, April 25, 1922, 13, November 7, 1924, 1, 12.

30. Gary Post and Tribune, Sept. 13, 1921, 1, Sept. 1, 1927, 4, Dec. 15, 1927, 19, March 16, 1928, 3; Wirt speech, ca. 1926, MS, [7-9], William A. Wirt Papers, Calumet Regional Archives.

31. Gary Post-Tribune, Jan. 12, 1928, 16.

32. The (Gary) Sun, November 4, 1927, 5, January 6, 1928, 4; Gary American, Sept. 7, 1928, 2, June 28, 1930, 1, April 18, 1931, 6; Tyack, The One Best System, 228, and see 217-229 in general.

33. Albert Fertsch, "Colored Trade School at Gary, Ind.," School Life, VII (November 1921), 65.

34. Cohen and Lazerson, "Education and the Corporate Order," Socialist Revolution, II (March-April 1972), 71; Tyack, The One Best System, 216.

35. There is, of course, a massiv literature on irony, paradox, ambiguity, and the like in American history; for a start, see Michael Kammen, People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization (New York, 1972).